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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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837 684 [562] 831 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 831 562 661 554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákaṅ*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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183
178 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still
177 too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is
183 the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the
184 situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and
183 indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several
171 other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose
836 morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules
183 laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves
685 are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag or the *idammâñ* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This
858 is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may
867 occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, nevertheless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail to scold them and even to punish them.

577 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many
867 youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connec-
158 tion, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of
183 Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest
811 reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue, and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain presentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are certainly experts in that line.

577 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished
158 to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were care-
183 fully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to
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592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he
[201] shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
889 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. Divorce

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the
461 division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture. 586 684 461

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper. 586 684 574

By the wife: 586

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether. 684 837

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices. 586 684 461

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative. 586

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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When *Rukkaḍéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kaḍáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kaḍáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkaḍéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kaḍáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Maṅéń: Menses.

Maratáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Maṅaṭáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiaṭáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meaṭáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Maṅaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *maṅa*, syncopated for *maṅ* and *ka*.

Maṅa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *maṅa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be
[461 broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs
684] very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a
[587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are
[581 then free to marry again. The woman must impli-
837] citly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him:
684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

THE PUNISHMENT OF AN ADULTEROUS COUPLE

837 A long time ago there was a man. His name was Manaboc and the name of his son was Laguesad. The son had a wife, Adud. Laguesad took Adud and went with a party to Sulsuna for trading purposes. One night on the way, at Alisit in Naguilian, one of the men of Alisit went and slept with Adud. He did this for several nights. Manoboc observed that they were together as he saw the smoke of their cigars. One day he went to the river and gathered many leaves which he dried thoroughly. Then that night he piled up the leaves in the house. When he saw the two together, he set the leaves afire. The flame blazed up and disclosed that the two were having intercourse. The man was frightened and ran away, leaving all his belongings, even his G-string.

684 Manaboc and his son agreed to kill the lover and Adud. They called all of the people of Alisit in Naguilian together for a feast. When all the people were in the house, Manaboc ordered his son to fasten shut all of the windows and throw a pot full of water on the fire so that the people in the house would start fighting in the darkness. The son did so, and Manaboc and his son went outside and closed the door. The people shut inside, became panicky and starter a fierce fight against each other. More than a hundred were thus killed. Adud, the adulterous wife of Laguesad, was killed because she was the cause of all the trouble.